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154 the concern and pleasure of the fathers and mothers in adorning and taking good care of their little ones" /translated from Spanish/. Actually the parents often kiss and caress the baby with pleasure (p.314).

constantly reminded of the unusual, almost uncontrolled pleasure of several Indian women who occasionally came to Punta Remolino. The Lawrence family there had a Spaniard as a cook, whose young 157 wife one day had her first child. She handled it so awkwardly and 158 clumsily that the Indian women refrained from laughing heartily only because they pitied the child, but among themselves they quite frankly discussed how much better they could handle a new-born baby. Nelly used this as an example to emphasize that in such important matters her country-women had incomparably more thorough experience and "the Whites could learn a great deal from Yamana women about how to treat a baby!"

5. Infanticide

147 In view of what has been reliably reported about the love for children among the Yamana, it is apparent that there is no place among these people for intentional and frequent infanticide. Not a single European can prove it by having been an eye-witness to this act, and Hyades (p):331 denies any intentional infanticide with the following brief sentence: "Infanticide is not customary" /translated from French/. It is only Bridges who made statements on this subject, and a few travelers (158), such as Dabbene (a):63 and

158. Cooper:171 mentions the various citations.

(b):190, repeated his words. As early as 1866 he maintained: "It is very seldom a young infant is killed unless under the following circumstances: Should the mother's husband have deserted her, the child is then often killed by its mother. Also those children that have any great imperfections, or are otherwise much deformed, are sure to be killed very shortly after their birth. Also should a

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619 An attribute of this mental attitude and trend of thought of the Yamana is their pronounced consciousness of homeland. They know the exact boundaries that separate their territory from their neighbors, and they regard this territory as exclusively theirs; every stranger in it is an intruder. They are intimately attached to their homeland and particularly deeply rooted in their narrower local region. /198/ They praise its beauty and advantages, without, however, indulging in extravagant enthusiasm; they are thinking only of the material goods that it furnishes them. They feel a strong impulse to come back to it after they have been far away to trade or hunt or to attend festivals. In their opinion, complete happiness flourishes only on one's native soil. A Yamana who must live outside his local homeland, that is to say, outside his so-called local group, feels like someone living in a bleak, alien land. He misses the many things it offered him, or at any rate he imagines he does, and he yearns to go back.

• 96 In the case of Nelly Lawrence her love for her home often came out very strongly. An important contributory factor was her very different form of life by the side of her European husband on the farm in Punta Remolino. When she began telling about her beloved West from where she came, this quiet, taciturn woman who was almost too timid to speak became unbelievably lively and talkative. Then she would praise the beauty of the landscape with its many glaciers and meandering waterways, the steep peaks with their eternal snow, and the sheltered safety of the many calm bays. She would extol the fresh green of the dense beech forests of that rainy zone and the quiet ways of its animal kingdom. Finally, she would put her own countrymen above all praise. She presented everything as a special advantage, chiefly in contrast to the feared neighbors of the western Yamana, the Halakwulup. She never let an opportunity go by to emphasize strongly in front of others that the lovely pasina song is native to her region, that a story from there spread to the east, that at the large secret gatherings this or that special form is customary there, and so forth. Truly, the Fuegian, too, loves his home with a whole and warm heart. This one example is convincing proof.

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621 634 571 the Ushuaia local group extends over about 20 English miles (MM:XIII, 151;1879), but this is only a third of the area that the middle dialect group actually occupies.

Corresponding to the word formations given above, BD:259 also lists some in which the native district of the grandmother of some person is definitely taken into account: "hīkaiamakūtasa, the connection a person has with the land of his father's mother, or of his mother's mother; hīkaiamakūtasūsi, the country of my mother's mother's, *my father's mother's country*" /cited in English/. With this root word the terms for the male and female relatives of that region are formed by means of suffixes.

Such designations for the native district of the grandmother were probably created because each of the two grandmothers of the same grandson had home territories elsewhere; on the other hand, the paternal ancestors of the grandson remain almost without exception in the same locality. This comes out even more clearly in the explanation given in BD:168 for the word kaiamākūtasa which recurs in hīkaiamakūtasa above, for it is "a term applied of the connection one has with a place or people from which one's grandmother came" /cited in English/. From this comes the further formation haiamākūtasūsi, "the country of my grandmother, or the country of one's grandchildren" /cited in English/, and, finally, hīkaiamākūtasāpai, "two persons belonging to one's grandmother's country" /cited in English/. It does not seem to me permissible to attempt to read into these designations a matriarchal type of social structure.

186 Our Indians are more conversant with expressions that contain the idea of belonging to a specific country, of indigenousness and the rights of residence. The root word hánnan is given in BD:265 in the sense of "my country, in opposition to palalísin, civilised country" /cited in English/. From this come the derivations hannajámalim "(used by natives specially of themselves) my country men, my country people," hannakipajámalim, "my country women," hannaala, "my countryman," and finally hannakípa, "my countrywoman" /citations in English/.

178 634 The changes wrought by recent influences have pushed the dialect groups and circles of families, which hitherto were separated in their circumscribed local districts, closer and closer

421 /963/ They not only acknowledge that material goods have a definite owner who has sole right of disposal, but they also apply this acknowledgment to specific relationships between individuals. [859 Accordingly, children belong to both of their own parents as their 736] property, and one spouse has an actual right to the other. Step-parents have similar rights to children who have only one parent or are completely orphaned. We shall soon discuss the fact that certain groups have a definite title of possession for sections of land marked off with boundaries.

The social order of the Yamana recognizes two types of property, namely, common possessions and personal property. The former is based on the absolute necessity of hunting and the roving mode of life. Since everyone, or rather the individual family, is thrown back on its own resources for a considerable time, it is also the sole, unrestricted master of everything it carries along, and it disposes of this quite freely. This distribution of possessions is natural; we come across it not only among all three Fuegians tribes, but quite generally among peoples with a low gathering economy.

It would be a mistake to regard the common property as a communistic form of possession, for the individual person only has the usufruct of it under certain conditions. In like manner it would [476] be incorrect to explain along these lines the obligation of mutual aid which is emphasized to a remarkable degree among the Yamana (379). Voluntary distribution of possessions in the form of

379. Hyades (q):243 opposed such an obviously false interpretation: "They like to share what they have with those around them, and one cannot say that this is because of the community of property. This community does not exist in Fuegia" /translated from French/.

booty and tools occurs as a result of social considerations, but leaves completely untouched the right of disposal itself.

1. Common Property

• 186 423 The consciousness of ethnic unity is very pronounced among our Yamana, as among all primitive peoples. It is based on identity

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of language and way of life no less than on sharing the same native region. They regard the fragmented maze of islands within the triangle between the Cape Horn cliffs, Brecknock Peninsula, and Punta Julieta at Bahía Aguirre as their country, within whose boundaries they alone, from ancient times, have the exclusive right to live and to hunt. Actually they make their property rights, in the widest sense of the word, apply to this whole area.

They condemn the crossing of these borders by their Indian neighbors in the northeast, as well as in the southwest, as trespass on their land, simply because it belongs to them alone (380).

> 380. Spegazzini (a):168 has mentioned "that the boundaries of a tribe are well defined; no Alucăluf /Alacaluf/ canoe goes into Iajan /Yahgan/ territory unless it has a particular and important mission" /translated from Spanish/.

They do not drive off the intruders with weapons, but they regard their encroachment quite /964/ frankly as a legal offense. Only the families who reside in an area may grant their neighbors free entrance if personal reasons make it advisable.

They also regard it as robbery when Europeans settle on their land and crowd out their countrymen. For the last few decades they have become resigned to this condition of constraint because they feel too weak to resist. Formerly they overwhelmed many a European ship with hostility and made its landing difficult in order to deprive the unpopular Whites of any possibility or desire to settle here (p. 250 /untranslated/). For the same reason even the missionaries were made to feel the resistance of the natives. For example, it cost the former much toil and labor to found the mission station in Ushuaia, but this did not make that region the property of the missionaries, according to the Indians, and they actually had to submit to all kinds of annoyances. It was only after direct negotiations that Bridges (MM:IV, 133;1870) could content himself with the following solution: "I got full permission from the natives of Ushuaia to take possession of any land for house and gardens. Next time I intend giving them some thing as a small acknowledgment" /cited in English/. Although

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implicit in what Missionary Phillips relates. One sultry day when he complained to a young Fuegian about the heat, the latter cried, alarmed: 'Do not say the sun to hot, immediately it will hide and the wind will blow cold.'"

Thus the conception of késpix́ is very broad and contains many things which cannot be summed up in a terse formula. Hyades (q):255 discussed this word as "an intranslatable term referring to fantastic beings who live in deserted caves in the middle of dense forests" /translated from French/. The idea of késpix́ must not be so limited, however, as will be adequately shown in the following discussion.

1. Cannibals

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From the start it does not seem strange that the Yamana, too, in one way or another, believe in cannibals. This belief may have originated in their apprehensiveness and fear of the Halakwulup (p. 205 /untranslated/) who are directly adjacent to the western group. A particular incident may have brought this about in the first place. One thing is certain, that almost all the Yamana designate a group within the Halakwulup tribe, about which nothing is definitely known, as the asásan, which is the same as calling them cannibals. Sometimes they include all the Halakwulup in this belief. There are others among the Yamana who include only the group living farther north somewhere near Smith Channel, some of whom it is believed now and then appear in Beagle Channel. Occasionally someone will even suspect the western Yamana, the so-called Inanumáala, of practicing this habit (241). It is said: These asásan have long canoes

241. Bridges (VSA:XI, 259;1864) had already learned: "These natives say there is a tribe speaking their language, but with a peculiar accent, they call them 'Ishawa,' who are cannibals, but they

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strenuously deny any such enormities among themselves" /cited in English/. Hyades (b): 1346 and (p):331, on the other hand, definitely asserts: "There are no traditions of anthropophagy" /translated from French/. If he means by this that the Yamana themselves do not practice cannibalism, he is perfectly right (p. 252 /untranslated/).

of solid /1281/ construction, which accommodate many men. Because all of them row, the canoe moves with extraordinary speed. The asásan invade Yamana territory only at night. Anyone they catch at that time is dragged off and devoured. They take advantage of the dark so that they will be successful and meet no resistance. During the day they stay within their boundaries or hide in a sheltered spot in the territory of the Yamana until night falls, for only under its protection do they carry out their surprise attacks. Not only the western group but all the Yamana live in constant dread of the asásan, precisely because they come up very swiftly and then depart again. They are also called wĕlapatux, "murderers" (cf. BD:619), because they murder and eat anyone who falls into their hands. A third designation, Hapánana-yámana, "the people in Hapananúši," is derived from a myth (p. 1162); it is also pronounced "Apananúši" (p. 243 /untranslated/).

Even the young Bridges (a):207 came across traces of this belief: "Cannibalism is unknown, but they have reports that it is practised by some people far to the westward, whom they call Hapúnanóoshiaúla" /cited in English/. Later he (k):237 wrote more explicitly: "They believe in the existence of certain murderers in the west, called asasyu, attributing to them wondrous powers and a fabulous wickedness. They supposedly wander at night, traveling in fast and strongly built canoes, with the object of killing anyone they meet. It is said that they conceal themselves with trickery in such a way that they could never be found, but stories tell of this one and that one who, having seen them at night, succeeded in escaping from them" /translated from Spanish/ (242).

242. Likewise Bridges (i):15, Dabbene

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• 186 (b):204, Hyades (f):588 and (q):259, and so forth.

BD:30 gives the meaning of asāsiŭ, "persons who go about in the dark of night to kill persons" /cited in English/. To this Hyades (g):39 adds: "Anyone who sees the Ualapatu is lost; one often hears their voice, which resembles that of the seal, but which the Fuegians can immediately distinguish. If they think they hear it, they are frightened out of their wits; they carefully barricade every opening of the hut and, weapon in hand and trembling, they await the morning. Then they immediately leave the campsite and flee to another island. Often the specter follows them even there and harasses them for several nights."

From direct observation Bridges (i):15 tells how the fear of these cannibals affects the Yamana: "The Asasyu, or Apunanusiaula, people of the West, were much feared. During the afternoon (January 1st, 1872) Sisoiange's wife was sleeping and awoke hearing a strange noise in the next room, she got up, but could see nothing. She was in a great fright and spread a report that an Asasyu had come into the house" /cited in English/. /1282/ Hyades (f):588 and (q):254 also repeats in detail the view disclosed to him by three Yamana men in Orange Bay on April 3, 1883. According to them, the murderers penetrate Yamana territory with large boats. "If the men are asleep, the inhabitants of the west immediately enter the huts, cut off the heads of everyone, men and children (except perhaps the women), and then eat them, cooking them over the fire" /translated from French/.

186 773 Moreover, the Yamana tell a separate story about the cannibals, Hamanáulum wátuwa, as follows. Once a few people from the central group were camping in Hamanáulum (243). They had

243. A short beach about three kilometers west of present-day Ushuaia.

noticed that many other families had traveled westward. A rumor was going around: "There in Wáiman (244) a whale is lying on

244. This is the designation for the entire

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western part of Yamana territory, particularly the north shore of Beagle Channel (p. 205 /untranslated/).

the beach." So these people said to themselves: "We shall go there too, in order to get a lot of meat and fat. Only tonight we shall stay here and get a good rest!" The next morning they boarded their canoes. They traveled all day and went farther and farther, even during the night, for they wanted to reach the whale as soon as possible. There were ten families and a yékamuš. Because they traveled all night -- and these nights were very dark -- they could not see the coastline very clearly. Actually, they rowed past that whale! But they kept right on rowing farther and farther. They had reached Hapananúši (245) long before,

245. The designation for the bordering territory of the Halakwulup.

and they finally entered a harbor; they were all very tired. They disembarked in order to find out the actual location of the whale that they had been seeking for so long.

Many people had made a big camp here, but these people were cannibals. It was their custom to devour everyone who came here from the east. To make it easier to murder everyone, they always let only one stranger enter a hut to spend the night, for a family could easily cope with one stranger and quickly murder him.

Now when the ten families disembarked here, they were divided up among ten different huts, and the yékamuš was sent into another hut. He entered this hut; an old woman was sitting near the fire making a little basket. When the yékamuš entered, the old woman's husband said to him: "Sit down here near the fire! You are probably very hungry?" Whereupon the yékamuš replied: "Yes, I am very hungry, for we traveled a long time and looked for the stranded whale without finding it. Where do you suppose the whale is?" Then the husband took a knife and reached for his wife's left breast. It was long and heavy and he cut it off. He immediately hung this piece over the fire to roast it. The /1283/ yékamuš saw this. Horrified, he said: "Are you

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•186 713 by any chance roasting this piece for me?" The other man replied: "Yes, that is for you because you are very hungry!" Thereupon the yékamuš said, quite indignantly: "I shall never eat human flesh! What do you take us for? We came to hunt the whale that we were told was stranded here in the west. We do not eat human flesh!" Saying this, he left the hut and looked around outside until he found a piece of meat. He came back to the hut with it, placed it on the fire, and roasted it. Then he ate it.

There was a basket hanging in this hut, and ten small children were sitting in it. When they saw the yékamuš, they jumped up happily in their basket and sang: "yárum hapánana, yárum hapánana." This meant: "Today we should like to eat this man." But the two adults replied, also very happily: "hamašúnna hapánana, hamašúnna hapánana" (246).

246. I was told that the word "hapanana" used here by the Halakwulup has no meaning. The children wanted to say to the old people that they wanted to devour that man this very day, whereas the old people wanted to postpone the feast until the morrow. In order that the stranger should not recognize what they had in mind, they merely emphasized the adverbs "today" and "tomorrow," in combination with a word without any meaning whatever. This was sufficient for the adults as well as the children, and they understood one another. Whether it is related to "hapõna" in BD:266 I cannot determine. -- The same nonsense word was also the reason they were called "Hapanana-Yamana" and their territory, "Hapananusi" (p.844).

Then the yékamuš had an inkling of what this was supposed to mean; he recognized the grave danger hanging over himself and his people! Because he was a great yékamuš, he tossed a piece of fat into the fire, unnoticed. While it was burning, he

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caused a very deep sleep to come over all the people of this camp. Instantly all these people fell asleep and slept so soundly that no one stirred. The yékamuš now ran quickly to his own people and told them that they all were in grave danger. They all immediately seized their things and stole whatever they could that belonged to these cannibals, loaded everything into their canoes, and rowed off as fast as possible. They hastened toward the east to their homeland.

When they were already far away, a dog began barking loudly. He barked so vigorously that those people woke up again and immediately noticed that they had been robbed of all their things. They could just see the fleeing thieves in the far distance. They quickly made ready to pursue them. When the latter saw that the cannibals were coming after them, they were seized with great fear. They hid in Asúsiwaja (247). But the

247. This little inlet lies west of La Romanche Bay, in the northwest branch.

Hapananúši people noticed this and now hurled a large šewáli [flint] with the sling. It landed quite near the hiding-place of the fugitives; it burst and gave off a loud report, like thunder. One can hear it to this day in that region (248). /1284/ The

248. This refers to the thunder-like noise or shocks, caused by a collision of icebergs or the breaking off of large ice floes from the glaciers.

fugitives then tossed a large part of the stolen goods out of their canoes to make them lighter and speedier for their escape. They rowed on again, always toward the east, past Lapatáia and Hamanáulum, until they reached Ušuwáia once more, where they had previously had their camp. But the Hapananúši people continued to hurl large stones after them.

To this day, therefore, one can see large stones lying about in this entire region, especially in Asúsiwaja, Lapatáia, and Hamanáulum; the Hapananúši people hurled all of them at the

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186 thieves, using their slings. All the things that they had stolen
113 also turned into stones and to this day lie scattered about where the fugitives tossed them out of their canoes.

A variant of this story is always told to the uš̌wáala at the end of their initiation. At that time it serves the special purpose of confirming the historical derivation of the č̌iéxaus institution from the west and its transmission to the central region of the Yamana (p. 843).

186 The entire portrayal shows clearly enough that the feared cannibals are merely phantoms created by the Yamana's terror of their western neighbors. Even Bridges (i):15 reached this view: "This Apunanúš̌i people are reputed to be cannibals, but I do not believe the report, which is so like others we have proved to be false" /cited in English/. This much is certain, that the Halakwulup possess actual plank-boats which they have had for several decades (249). It is obvious that these carry a larger

> 249. Besides the plank-boat, the Halakwulup much more often make and use the dugout. Gusinde (o):547 has already pointed out that they had these two articles. Our Yamana first became acquainted with the dugout among the Halakwulup and took it over from them (p. 137). The Yamana did not adopt the plank-boat because their region lacks suitable timber.

number of oars than the fragile bark canoes. Bridges (i):16 frankly admits that he finally saw the first vessel of this kind on February 16, 1883, near Stuart Island. It was manned by Halakwulup and is generally called lēpětēx-ánan (cf. in BD: 280, lōpōtōx, "a pole, log, trunk of a tree /cited in English/). He adds the following remark to this personal observation: "It is very desirable for the sake of the Eastern natives to clear up the matter about these luputuj-anan wooden canoes which have been for ages a source of continual fear to the Eastern. These luputuj-anan were supposed to be manned by murderers who moved about in them by night in order to kill any natives they

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•186 might meet. They drew up their canoes by day and secreted themselves and never lit a fire for fear of detection" /cited in English/. In any case, the fact is that not a single Yamana saw those murderers by day and that the crew of one of their canoes never attacked our Yamana and overpowered them. Hence, those Wélapatux are nothing more than fantasy images.

/1285/ 2. The Water Spirits

116 Everyone is much more frequently and more vitally concerned with certain water spirits than with cannibals. These spirits are called Lakúma. They prefer to inhabit certain places favorable to them, but they traverse any inlet whatever. This sea monster has already been described as dangerous in the Aśóulaxīpa wátuwa /"Story of Aśóulaxīpa," untranslated; see pp. 1261-1262 in the original text/. It threatens every canoe, lifts out the occupants, and sucks them down into the depths. Each Lakúma has the habit of flattening himself out on the surface of the water so that his back protrudes a little. He waits in this fashion until a canoe approaches. It is hard to recognize the Lakúma from a distance. People often say that outwardly he is like a whale; others compare him to the calamary húka (Loligo subulata or squid) which is not uncommon in those regions; still others to the ray. He is also said to be large and very strong, "a great monster like a huge worm" /cited in English/, according to Spencer:80. If the occupants of a canoe have unwittingly come within reach of the monster, they rarely succeed in escaping disaster, and only if the Lakúma is sleeping or in a good mood.

He does not merely attack a canoe and its occupants. It is also within his power to cause high waves and threatening storms if he wants to endanger a vessel. That is why the Yamana avoid the regions presumably occupied by a Lakúma. Emilia told me: "When I was still a girl, my family planned to leave Wulaia and travel north. On the very morning we intended to leave, the yékamus who later became my father-in-law had a dream and told us, full of anxiety: 'Be careful, or disaster will befall you!' In his dream he saw a mighty Lakúma suddenly tip over our boat as it